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all lined up single file broadside to the altar. There were two bridal couples and the two sets of godparents, each couple clutching a lighted candle. The priest, an Italian, who had just arrived from missionary service in the Congo, told them that candles were not at all needed for the marriage service. The members of the wedding party looked somewhat discomfited, but they maintained their gripe on the candles. The priest repeated his admonitions several times. There was no argument, but the Indians just stood there holding their candles in front of them. Finally, the priest, with a generous Italian shrug, said, "If you want to get married with candles, I'll marry you with candles, but you really don't need them." In a small way, Catholic flexibility had met Cayapa rigidity and the priest was beginning his accommodation.

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Easter is the most important holiday for the Cayapa. The day before Easter week, people begin arriving at the ceremonial center and set up housekeeping. The following day, most of the people have arrived. There were no special services, and most of the day was spent in clearing the plaza. The /ʔaʔi/ began the work of

clearing. He worked alone for perhaps two hours before he was joined unenthusiastically by eight other men. They all worked separately and at a considerable distance from each other. Other men made minor repairs to the church, and still others made small repairs to the houses surrounding the plaza. All of the houses were in very poor repair, but no one felt obliged to undertake the effort required to make really good repairs. The houses were only used during Easter and Christmas, and none of the inhabitants felt sorely pressed.

The second day of Easter saw people busily engaged in building bamboo cross poles to which were fastened candles. That evening, about six, all of the fiesteros, dressed in their finery, formed a procession. A Negro carried a large statue of a saint in his arms at the head of the parade. Behind him, forming a straggling line, two and three abreast, came the Cayapa. Some men and women held candles in their hands, some men carried the large bamboo cross-poles with six to eight candles. Some carried the smaller statues of the saints. They walked around the church three times, and then entered. Groups of Negroes were present and they sang hymns in Spanish. The Cayapa like to have the

4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
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Christmas was similar, except that there were no nighttime processions around the church. Ideally, seven sponsors are chosen for the Christmas *fiesta*, and they are expected to supply rum, tobacco, and *guarapo*, and perfumed toilet water which is used to douse the *fiesteros* during the evening following the church services on the twenty-fifth. The families of the sponsors distribute the goods to all comers until the supply is exhausted. This is expensive, and the outlay in cash may run to over five hundred *sucres*. While it is said to be an honor to be a sponsor, no one apparently accepts the honor willingly. Sour corn meal is prepared several days before Christmas and mixed with water. This drink, called campu is put in small canoe-like containers on the evening of the 25th. Ten to twelve containers are divided up and blessed by the chief who makes the sign of the cross. The drink is then carried around and people dip gourds of it and drink. During the Christmas *fiesta*, the chief wandered around for hours arguing with men who claimed that they were too busy or too poor to become a sponsor for the next Christmas *fiesta*. Finally, the chief lost his temper and

harangued the people for about a half an hour during which he said that they were all evil people and that his own son would sponsor the upcoming Christmas fiesta, and that he would help him finance it. This was later done by manufacturing and selling several canoes in Esmeraldas. The chief told the writer that it is very difficult to find sponsors and that he had to sponsor several fiestas in the past because no one else would. By their refusal, Gabriel was forced to assume more control over the fiesta and he was beginning to instruct his son regarding fiesta responsibility.

Sponsorship gives one religious merit. Their gifts are blessed before the statues of the saints by the Chief. The main business of the fiesta is now undertaken--serious drinking. As the effects of alcohol begin to make themselves felt, long smouldering disputes are argued and brought to the chief for settlement. Drunken officials approach drunken single men and attempt to arrange marriages, transgressors against the law are brought before the chief and tried.

Any Cayapa will say that he is a good Catholic, but religion is always manifest as a group, rather